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mations in the poems, is exquisitely and ingeniously conceived; but it must be regarded rather as a play of the imagination than as having a solid basis in historical realities.

It is greatly to be desired that these scattered leaves of Mr. Frere's literary hours were collected, and so made a part of our literature. They would always hold a distinguished rank among productions of their class.

ART. VII.—*The Roman State, from 1815 to 1850.* By LUIGI CARLO FARINI. Translated from the Italian, by the RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE. Volume III. London: John Murray. 1852. 8vo. pp. 424.

THE third volume of Farini's work contains the history of Rome for only five months,—from the 25th of November, 1848, when the Pope went into exile, till the 25th of the next April, when the French troops, under General Oudinot, landed at Cività Vecchia. Though it is not so rich in matter or so fresh in interest as were the two former volumes, we propose to treat it in the same manner, in order to complete the account of the revolutionary period at Rome, which was commenced in this journal a year ago.

When the horror-stricken Pope fled from the city where his prime minister had been assassinated, and his private secretary struck down by a bullet almost at his master's side, he had no settled purpose whither he should go. He wished only to escape from a scene of horror and confusion, where neither his dignity nor his person was safe. Many places of refuge were offered to him by the members of the diplomatic body, who were for the moment his only trusted counsellors, though each of them acted mainly with reference to the interests of the state which he represented. Austria, France, Spain, Naples, and soon afterwards, Piedmont, offered him shelter and hospitality; each power was eager to gain that

influence in the affairs of Italy, and that popularity with its own Catholic subjects, which would result from the residence of the Head of the Church within its territory. Unlike any other fugitive sovereign, the Pope carried most of his authority and influence along with him. His spiritual functions were left in full activity; exile deprived him only of his temporal power. The Duc d'Harcourt wished him to proceed first to Civit  Vecchia, promising that a French vessel of war should immediately be sent thither, to convey him either to the south of France, or to the Balearic isles, as he might elect. Della Rosa, the Spanish ambassador, urged him to go to Gaeta, or some other port, whence he might take ship for Spain, or if he preferred not to go so far from his own dominions, to the Balearic isles. The Bavarian minister, who also represented the opinions and interests of Austria, desired him to take final refuge in the Neapolitan dominions, at Gaeta or in the capital. The Constitutionalists at Rome, admitting the necessity of leaving that city, still considered that he ought not to quit his own dominions, but to retire to Civit  Vecchia, where the navies of his allies might protect him, or to change the seat of government to Bologna, where he might rely upon the affection and fidelity of the citizens. Pius, whose mind seems to have been overwhelmed by his misfortunes and the ingratitude of his subjects, left the city gates actually in doubt which of these conflicting counsels he should adopt; but Count Spaur, the Bavarian ambassador, who was in the travelling carriage with him, succeeded in inducing him to take the road to Gaeta, though the Duc d'Harcourt had gone post to Civit  Vecchia, expecting to receive the Pontiff there at daybreak. No Spanish vessel, however, was found at Gaeta; and the Pope at first asked permission to remain there only for a day or two, till one could arrive. But the King of Naples hastened to meet him with prodigal demonstrations of respect and offers of service; and his influence, joined with that of Cardinal Antonelli and Count Spaur, induced Pius to remain where he was, at least till the progress of affairs at Rome and the negotiations of the diplomatists had come to some definite result.

The decision was an unfortunate one; it subjected him for

the time entirely to Neapolitan and Austrian influence, Cardinal Antonelli being also at his side, eager to root out from the Pontiff's mind whatever portion of liberal principles, of zeal for Italian independence, or of enthusiasm in the cause of reform might remain there after the recent terrible occurrences at Rome. The amiable but feeble character of Pius, his need of the sympathy of others, and the natural revulsion of opinion after the cruel disappointments which he had suffered, made him an easy prey to the machinations of those about him. From the time of his entrance into Gaeta, he ceased to be the directing spirit in his own administration, and appears to have passively yielded to the guidance of others. Especially during the negotiations with the envoy of Piedmont, who pressed him to accept the protection and mediation of that power, thus at least depending upon Italian aid, instead of calling in the intervention of foreigners, he would manifest at times a disposition for mild counsels, and afterwards unsay his own words, or allow Cardinal Antonelli to wrest them to a different signification. Gioberti, then prime minister of Charles Albert, wrote, "the candid and frank mind of Pius IX. is apt to be taken in by the grimaces of certain personages, who act the saint at Gaeta, but at Naples make their sport of religion, and of the august head who is its symbol." This intelligent and patriotic minister uniformly makes a distinction, both in his private and official discourse, between the character of the Pontiff and that of the court which surrounded him at Gaeta, speaking of the former with uniform respect, as inclined to reconciliation and pardon, "the only disposition accordant to his kind heart, his sacred character, or the interest of our religion."

Meanwhile, at Rome all was confusion. The departure of the Pope, leaving no instructions or authorized agent behind him, deprived the ministry which had been forced upon him on the 16th of November even of the semblance of authority. The Constitution, which had been granted some months before, was still nominally in force, but the absence of the head of the government reduced it practically to a nullity. The Council of Deputies was still in session; but it had authority only to legislate under this Constitution, not to make a new one, or

to change the form of state polity. The Pope had left behind him a brief letter, addressed to the head of his household, recommending to the protection of the ministry his personal attendants, and declaring that they were ignorant of his intention to leave the city. The ministers seized upon this note as a recognition of their continuance in authority; and Mamiani now being persuaded, in the hope of resisting the tendency of affairs towards anarchy, to take office among them, they published a proclamation announcing that they would remain in power, the Holy Father having "commended to them the duty of defending public order." But in less than a week, there arrived a proclamation from the Pope at Gaeta, declaring that he had fled to escape violence, and publicly reiterating the protest he had made, on the 17th of November, before the diplomatic body. "We have succumbed to coercion, and therefore declare all the acts which have flowed therefrom to be of no sort of force and legality." Not to leave the state without a head, an executive commission of government was nominated in the proclamation, consisting of a cardinal, a prelate, four noblemen, and General Zucchi. As might have been expected, most of these persons, having the fate of Rossi before their eyes, refused to act; but the purpose of the proclamation was answered, as the ministry could no longer govern under color of the Pope's authority, and the whole of his moral influence was enlisted against them. Mamiani had already addressed a circular to the diplomatic body, severely condemning the assassination of Rossi and the consequent tumult, but announcing that the ministers had been confirmed anew in office by an autograph note from the Holy Father. The proclamation having put a negative upon this assertion, he now proposed to his colleagues that they should resign their offices. But the two Councils, in a night session, determined to send a deputation to the Pope requesting him to return and resume the government, and to request the ministers, meanwhile, to continue in the exercise of their functions. The deputation was sent, but being refused permission to pass the Neapolitan frontier, was obliged to return without accomplishing any thing. The commission appointed by the Pope refusing to act any farther than to

mediate between him and his people, the two Councils were compelled to create a Supreme Junta, of three persons, consisting of the Senators (chief municipal officers) of Rome and Bologna, and the mayor of Ancona. New ministers, among whom Muzzarelli, Sterbini, and Galletti took the lead, were appointed by this Junta; and a provisional administration was thus formed, to continue either till the Pontiff should return, or till a Constituent Assembly could be called together, to devise a new form of government.

The leaders of affairs at Rome had little countenance or support to expect, either from the Roman provinces, or from foreign governments. Abroad, even where democratic opinions were most prevalent, and the storm of revolution had raged most wildly, all other feelings were swallowed up in sympathy for the Pope's unmerited misfortunes. Cavaignac, then the republican ruler of France, informed the National Assembly that he had ordered a considerable body of troops to embark for Civit  Vecchia in three steam frigates, to protect the person and liberty of the Holy Father; and the Roman ministry had no answer to make to this announcement but a feeble protest. The envoy of the Venetian republic had given the warmest assurances of affection and attachment—actual aid he had none to offer—to the dethroned sovereign, and had used this strong language in writing home to his government.

“I anticipate only evil; and even if mistaken, yet I could not rely on any good that might accrue from an assassination, to a people which has not recoiled from accepting its fearful responsibility. And when I reflect on these acts of barbarism, and on this lack of public morality in the city which is called the central point of Italy, I hide my face for shame, and I pray that the just indignation of civilized countries may not identify us with such a populace.”

The ill-advised proceedings of the court at Gaeta, it is true, and the ill-managed French invasion, soon turned this tide of republican sympathy the other way; but, for the present, it set strongly against those whose violence and ingratitude had driven so good a Pope out of his dominions. From countries where monarchy and Catholicism still flourished, of course, nothing but avowed hostility was to be expected; and from

Protestant England came no sign but of wonder and disgust. From first to last, the Roman Republic was not recognized by any government in Europe. Yet were the associations of the place and the cause as likely to waken universal enthusiasm as those which had stirred the sympathies of the whole world for Greece about twenty years before. The days of Rienzi had apparently come back; and in Mazzini, a more subtile intellect and more eloquent tongue than Rienzi's were soon to take the lead in a Republic of Consuls and Tribunes, such as classical patriots had often dreamed of. But the immediate antecedents of the case were different; the blood of Rossi, the siege of the palace on the Quirinal, and the flight of the Pope had now branded the cause for general execration.

The government having always been completely centralized at Rome, the state of feeling in the provinces, under any other circumstances, would have been comparatively of little importance. But now, as the appeal was to be made to universal suffrage, and the government was to be one of the people, every thing depended on maintaining unanimity in all parts of the papal dominions. In the districts near Rome, Farini says, the inhabitants were so ignorant, boorish, and devout, so accustomed to follow the lead of the capital and the priests, that their minds might easily be swayed in either direction. They have no idea of government, but as it appears in the persons of the tax-gatherer and the policeman; and they would probably measure its excellence by the infrequency of the visits of these worthies. In the central provinces, property is more subdivided, "and the condition of the many is less abject, the middle class more numerous, the nobility less isolated." At the north, though the papal government was very unpopular, the intelligent and educated classes were averse to revolution, and even portended utter ruin from it. The deputies from Bologna had returned to their own city, in their horror and aversion to what they had witnessed; and that city was half inclined to separate from turbulent Rome. But in "the year of revolutions," the alternations of fortune had been so sudden and great, that all who had any thing to lose stood still, in apathy

or terror, and waited for the development of events. Those only were fearless and active, to whom no revolution could bring a change for the worse. Democratic clubs were instituted by returned exiles and political refugees from other lands ; and these, by their violence and their menaces, prevented any show of resistance from those who were disgusted by the recent proceedings at the capital. On the whole, the provinces gave little aid, though they showed no open hostility to the republic. The revolution ran its course, and the republic had its birth and its downfall, within the walls of Rome.

The Parisian experiment was tried over again, of enlisting the lower classes in the cause, by affording them work and wages at the public charge. The poor, indeed, needed succor ; for the political disturbances had stopped the usual influx of wealthy foreigners, and many thus lost their only means of support. Sterbini, the Minister of Public Works, employed a crowd of such persons, at first, to work upon a suburban road, and afterwards to dig holes, for the purpose of disinterring antiquities, in the Forum. The finances, sufficiently disordered before, were reduced to a hopeless state by this application of the public funds. Paper-money, the usual and formidable resource of a revolutionary government, was then issued in excess ; and its rapid depreciation contributed largely to the public anxiety and discontent. Still the peace of the city seems never to have been disturbed. There was but little government, and great laxity on the part of the police ; but the mob knew that the reins were in the hands of their friends, or at least of those who depended on their support ; and they took good care not to weaken such authority. The Revolution was acceptable to the populace at Rome, though it had few active supporters without the city walls. " The public functionaries," says Farini, " even the military, if not insolent, were but half obedient ; so much so, that one governor of a province would often do the very thing that another forbade within his jurisdiction. Captains did not obey colonels, nor generals ministers ; and the rule was, to be unruly."

The appointment of the Supreme Junta was not popular

in any quarter. The Pope denounced it as a sacrilegious assumption of his dignity ; and the republicans, who now eagerly demanded that the State should be organized under a new constitution, declared it to be a reckless invasion of the rights of the people. The menacing aspect of the mob, and the doubtful course of the Civic Guard, on whom alone any dependence could be placed for the preservation of public order, at last compelled the Junta, though with seeming reluctance, to issue a proclamation for calling a Constituent Assembly, to determine what the future political institutions of the state should be. As it could not be doubted in what temper such an Assembly would come together, this was really a proclamation of the Republic. Mamiani, therefore, and other Constitutionalists, resigned their office. The Senator of Bologna, a high-minded man, refused to take his seat in the Junta ; and Galletti was appointed in his place. The two Councils, or the Parliament, as they are here termed, lost the little authority they once had, after the announcement that their functions were soon to be superseded by another representative body. The Upper Council ceased to sit, and the Lower one, from the want of a quorum, could not approve the decree for creating a new assembly. The Junta, therefore, now again weakened by the resignation of the aged Senator of Rome, took upon itself to dissolve the two Councils, and thus remained a self-appointed, provisional government. No one cared to dispute their authority, which was, at any rate, to be of short duration ; but most of the governors of provinces, and other high functionaries, resigned their offices, in order to shun the responsibility of obeying the orders of a body thus constituted. The decree was issued on the 29th of December, the elections were to take place in about three weeks, and the National Assembly was to meet on the 5th of February.

Some of the more energetic Constitutionalists sent an intimation to the court at Gaeta that they were disposed to make open resistance, and would restore the Pope by force, provided he would guarantee the continuance of the free institutions he had already granted ; but either from distrust of their power to effect a counter-revolution, or from unwill-

lingness to fetter by any promises that restoration which was now deemed to be secured by foreign aid, no answer was made to this offer. The Pope issued a proclamation, forbidding his subjects to take any part in the coming elections, and excommunicating all who should share in the proceedings. Of course, this step threw the elections wholly into the hands of the violent republicans, and few but those of their party were returned. The last hope of the Moderates, or *Doctrinaires*, as they were reproachfully termed, rested on the proffered mediation of Piedmont, whose military strength was still sufficient to enforce its decision, and to keep out the intervention of the foreigner. Unhappily, this offer of mediation was declined, both by the court of Gaeta, which now looked forward to the reëstablishment of absolutism, and by the government at Rome, which was bent on trying the desperate experiment of a republic, though menaced by half of civilized Europe. Gioberti, the able minister of Charles Albert, answered with bitter and deserved sarcasm, when informed that Cardinal Antonelli declined the mediation of his master.

“The distinguished Cardinal complains that, in pressing on the Romans language of peace and concord, the government of Piedmont has done harm to Rome, ‘by preventing matters from coming to the worst.’ But this must have sprung from the animation of the moment, not from mature reflection; inasmuch as His Eminence cannot have forgotten that Gospel rules take precedence of political chicane, and that any sovereign or minister, who wishes for evil that good may come of it, can reap no other reward than infamy in this life and hell in the next.”

Still more poignant was the rebuke administered by the envoy of the Venetian Republic, (then contending, single-handed, for its existence against Austria,) to the temporary government at Rome, when urging it to accept the offer of Piedmont.

“After the Pope was gone, you had but two courses open to you: the one revolution, the other accommodation. The first you have not adopted, and you have boggled at the last. Now again you have before you those two courses only. Time flies, and you should make your choice: either revolution, with its forced loans, taxes on ab-

sentees, military conscriptions, exceptional laws, and all the violences that violence begets; or an accommodation,—that is to say, the Pope. The Pope you will have, either with your consent, under the requisite guaranties, if you accept Piedmontese intervention, and so prevent intervention from abroad; or against it, when you will become responsible either for a civil war, or for a foreign invasion, giving over the country to the tender mercies of a victor. But where are your forces for all this? You have not a brigade to rely on. Where is the enthusiasm of the masses? Not a shout is to be heard. Where are your arms? You have ordered the purchase of 10,000 muskets; and it will be two months before they get to Rome. Where is your money? Your coffers are already empty. Again, either you choose the aid of Piedmont, and obtain it; or you do not, and still, if it please, it will interfere, and that against you. Nay, if it should not, so much the worse for all parties, and for Italy, because do not flatter yourselves but that Austria will; and so, with her, will all the armed force of Europe. If now, as is your duty, you think more of Italy than of yourselves, remember for what cause Italy took arms; and if you really have her independence at heart, tell me, in good faith, what part are you now acting in Italy, and for Italy? I, who say it, am one you cannot suspect; here I have nothing to hope for myself, nothing to fear; I simply beseech you to reflect and feel that we are not Romans and Venetians, but Italians; and then to determine, whether you find in yourselves weight, force, and genius, sufficient for your own salvation, and for the deliverance of Italy, by means of revolution; but if you do not, then compound, so as to unite us all in a common purpose.” pp. 159, 160.

The elections took place amid much caballing and noise, though there was no general excitement. The clubs had made out lists of men whom they could trust, and circulated them through their emissaries; and as the Pope's Monitory kept his party and most of the Constitutionalists away from the polls, the greater part of these were chosen. In the cities, and other places where troops or volunteers were congregated, the voters were numerous; but in the villages and hamlets, even in comparison with the population, they were few. At Rome, the affair was conducted like a festival; and the government, seeing how it pleased the populace, graciously extended the period to three days. At evening, the ballot-boxes were carried round in procession, with torches

and military music ; and "active partisans got refreshments in the Capitol, at the public charge." At Bologna, the concourse was great, and the elections did not turn out in every case just as the clubs had directed.

The temporary government, holding office by so slight a tenure, should have confined its labors to purely administrative ends, and to providing for the public safety, leaving legislation for the powers that were to come. But they showed the rash, officious, and meddlesome spirit, that usually accompanies inexperience and unexpected elevation to high office. They tampered with every department of the State, and made as many new laws as if they had been commissioned to draw up an entire code. They decreed the abolition of entails, took away the tax on ground corn, made important amendments of the procedure in civil causes, enacted the basis of a navigation law, struck out of the code the power to bequeath the property in trust, and established a military commission, with authority to pass sentences without appeal, and to be executed within twenty-four hours, against all seditious attempts, even though not consummated. Farini complains that a more arbitrary measure than this had not been taken even by the hated administration of Gregory XVI.

The National Assembly met at Rome, on the 5th of February, and after three days spent, not in deliberation, but in speech-making, often interrupted by shouts of applause or disapprobation from the galleries, it decreed, by a great majority, the deposition of the Pope and the establishment of a Republic. On the next day, in the presence of all the Deputies, the new form of government was solemnly proclaimed from the Capitol. Two days before, in a Consistory of Cardinals at Gaeta, it was resolved to ask the armed intervention of Austria, France, Spain, and Naples ; the resolution being so expressed, that the aid might be given by either of these powers without any understanding with the others. Intelligence of this proceeding was received at Rome before the decisive vote was taken ; but the Assembly had gone too far, and, under the eyes of the populace in the galleries, it durst not retract. Even the leaders of the movement could not avoid seeing that the experiment must come to a speedy and

disastrous issue. Radetzky had already driven Charles Albert out of Lombardy; Venice was closely beleaguered; the counter-revolution was triumphant at Naples; Sicily had shown herself incapable of maintaining her independence, and was soon to be entirely subjected to Neapolitan dominion. The Republic in Rome came at least a year too late, to have any chance of success. Isolated, unrecognized, viewed with horror by all sincere Catholics, and with coldness by many Protestant lovers of freedom, who respected the evident good intentions and amiable character of the Pope, it could hope only a brief and turbulent existence, and an inglorious fall. It really continued in being less than five months, and belied the expectations even of its friends, only by the length and bravery of its resistance to the foreign forces by which it was assailed.

The gloomy prospects of the infant republic really operated to guard its reputation and preserve it from many evils. The people were not intoxicated by a change which was not likely to be a permanent one, and did not venture to treat with insolence or cruelty those who would soon be able to retaliate their injuries. The attention of those who were in office was absorbed by the danger from without, and they had little leisure or disposition to make hazardous experiments within the walls. The first proclamation issued by the new government, as Farini, their determined opponent, admits, contained words of conciliation, harmony, and tolerance. The peace of the city was not disturbed except by assemblages that were rather disorderly than riotous, and who seemed more disposed for noise and jest than violence. Priests and friars were often insulted in the streets, and many of them laid aside the clerical garb which exposed them to popular contumely; others continued to wear it in a martyr-like spirit, but did not thereby obtain the crown of martyrdom. On the whole, though the old police guards were disbanded, and the new were never appointed, offences against the lives and property of the citizens were not more frequent than usual; and this, considering the ordinary character of the Roman populace, is high praise. Much of the credit for preserving order is due to Ciceruacchio and one or two other leaders and favorites of

the common people; these men really discharged the functions of a volunteer police, and were probably more active and efficient than any duly commissioned officers would have been.

The direction of affairs was given by the National Assembly to an Executive Committee of three persons, removable at pleasure, and accountable only to those who had appointed them. Two Romans, Armellini and Montecchi, with a Neapolitan, Saliceti, were first chosen. These retained in office three of the former ministers, and appointed four new ones, the selection being made, as our author admits, with good discretion, except in the case of Sterbini, who was a noisy agitator, and seems to have been retained only on account of his influence with the mob. Three members of the National Assembly resigned their seats as soon as the republic was proclaimed; and a number of others, who disapproved that step, formed themselves into a section on the right, to offer formal parliamentary opposition to any measures of destructive radicalism. These acted with discretion and good temper, and on one or two occasions, came so near obtaining a majority of the votes, that the dominant party were compelled to respect their opinions, and they formed a salutary check on the government.

The state of the finances, and the measures necessary to put the army on a respectable footing, were the first subjects that attracted the attention of the Assembly. Paper money having already undergone a great depreciation, a forced loan was decreed on a graduated scale, which bore with peculiar severity on the rich. Those who had a net income exceeding two thousand crowns were obliged to pay one fifth of this income to the government; if their income exceeded six thousand crowns, they paid one third; and if it amounted to eight thousand, one half was required. These sums were payable, however, in three instalments, at intervals of several months; and the republic lived only long enough to claim the first payment. With the funds thus obtained, the army was made to appear well, at least on paper. Arms and ammunition were provided, including five parks of artillery. The legionary and volunteer corps were reduced to military

discipline, and formed the skeleton of an army which, if the ranks had been full, would have counted over thirty thousand in the infantry, two thousand horse, and two thousand five hundred artillerists.

Among these, however, were two regiments of Swiss, brave and steady soldiers, who had received the Pope's money, and now declared that they would adhere to their military oaths with unwavering fidelity. Orders had been sent to them, at Bologna, that they should march in a compact body through Romagna, gathering in all detached companies that belonged to them, committing no hostile act, but resolutely defending themselves and removing obstacles to their progress, and rejoin the Pope at Gaeta. No aid in money was sent to them, and no suggestions were made how this difficult task was to be performed. The Swiss officers informed the local authorities, as they had promised, that such orders had been received, and announced their intention to obey them, at whatever risk, though they would much prefer to stay where they were, and combat for Italian independence. Every attempt was made to dissuade them, but in vain; and preparations were commenced in the city to oppose their departure by force. Fortunately, the want of funds in their military chest, and the impossibility of performing such a journey without money, brought about a compromise. They agreed to remain where they were, on condition of not bearing arms against the Pope or his allies, and to disband as soon as their arrears should be paid. But the republic was as poor as the Pope; and after waiting for some months, till the affairs of the government had become desperate, they were at last disbanded without their pay. It is to be hoped that the Papal government afterwards discharged the debt; for no mercenary troops in Europe ever showed so much respect for the obligations they had assumed.

In place of these brave and well-disciplined soldiers, the republic had the services of such men as were congregated in Garibaldi's legion, — hardy, resolute, and fearless, but in their appearance and conduct more like brigands than regular troops, and quite as much dreaded by those for whom they fought as by the enemy. But they were invaluable in partisan warfare,

or for a desperate conflict behind entrenchments; and their gallant commander had the secret of taming their wild spirits, and keeping them within tolerable restraint. Farini speaks favorably of his disposition, and of the general good conduct of his men while they were engaged in defence of the city. At first, there were about as many foreigners as Italians among them; but their ranks were largely recruited in the northern provinces through which they passed, persons of idle and vicious habits but adventurous spirits readily joining the motley troop, and a corps was thus formed exceeding a thousand men, mostly of native birth. Before hostilities began, their number was doubled.

Two other events made the month of February, 1849, a memorable one in the history of Italian politics: the first was the downfall of the ducal government in Tuscany, and the second was the appearance of Mazzini upon the scene. Amiable and well meaning, enjoying the affection of the people whose interests he studied, the Grand Duke was yet lamentably deficient in energy and statesmanship. He imitated Pius IX. in the enthusiasm with which he commenced the work of political reform,—a work that he probably carried quite as far as a large majority of his native-born subjects desired. But he gave way even sooner than the Pope to indecision and despondency, and quickly followed him into exile. His timidity, and his needless desertion of them, were the only faults that his people could lay to his charge. The Grand Duke was ruined by the possession of the only flourishing seaport in Italy. Leghorn had long been a free port, and its prosperous commerce gave a motley character to its population. The year of revolutions, and the mild character of the ducal government, filled it with a rabble of noisy agitators and political refugees, and it became a hotbed of intemperance and sedition. The political clubs established there, and the bands of emissaries whom they sent out, overawed the simple countryfolk and the peaceful Florentines. The timid Duke, yielding to their clamor, which he mistook for the popular voice, accepted the democratic ministry which they nominated,—Guerrazzi and Montanelli being its chiefs,—and passively sanctioned all the measures which they pro-

posed. Among these was a proposal for the election of Tuscan representatives to the grand Constituent Assembly for all Italy, to which he assented with great misgivings, lest the censure fulminated by the Holy Father, against all who took part in that proceeding, might reach him. He hoped that the bill might be defeated in the Legislative Assembly; and when this hope failed him, and a message came from the Pope that the sentence did hang over him and over Tuscany, he refused to sign the law. His uneasiness and despondency had been increasing ever since the events of November at Rome, and the flight of Pius. He could bear the loss of his crown, he said, but his conscience was immovable in matters of religion, and he could not give his final sanction to the measure. After this refusal, Florence might not be a safe abode for him; even Siena, a city distinguished for attachment to his government and devotion to his person, and whither he had already sent his family, might be disturbed by civil broils. "He would go off, commending Tuscany to the Lord God, and to the good sense and conscientiousness of his people." He went first, on the 7th of February, to Santo Stefano, a petty fishing village on a small peninsula in the south of his dominions, where he was under the protection of two English men-of-war, one of which, at his own request, soon afterwards conveyed him to Gaeta.

The news of his flight created great agitation in Florence, where, though the larger portion of the inhabitants grieved and were silent, the clubs and the populace poured out into the streets, and shouted for a provisional government and a republic. The mob broke into the hall of the Legislative Assembly, and under the terror of their presence, after many of the deputies had withdrawn, a bill was hastily passed, appointing the two ministers already named, together with Mazzini, a triumvirate, to carry on the government. Liberty trees were planted in many places, and the Parisian pattern of a revolution was copied with tolerable faithfulness, though on so small a scale that it seemed a ludicrous caricature.

"The Tuscan Triumvirs had dissolved the Parliament, and had summoned a General Assembly, chosen by direct and universal suffrage, for the 14th of March. Their government was very speedily

molested by something of danger, and more of dread ; for no sooner were the Tuscan population aware of the reasons of the Sovereign's departure from Siena, than, both at Siena itself, and in the smaller cities and places, as well as in the rural districts about Florence, there were demonstrations of resentment, and some efforts to reinstate the royal authority. Thereupon the alarm bells rang in Florence, and forces were despatched to put down the movement of the country folks, who were huzzaing for Leopold II., under the idea he had returned, of which there was a rumor. Some persons were then arrested ; among them, Stuart, an Englishman, and Ricciardi, a Neapolitan, who were deemed to be instigators or accomplices in those demonstrations. At the same time, Guerrazzi sent orders to the Isle of Elba to repel the Grand Duke, if he should put in there ; and the steamer *Giglio*, manned at Leghorn, made sail thence to chase him. He had, however, from S. Stefano, ordered General Laugier, commandant of the Tuscan forces, who continued in his allegiance to the throne, to use force, and had apprised him that he had sent for Piedmontese succors. The General marched from the Sardinian and Modenese frontier, where he was encamped ; and, giving out that those succors were at hand, he moved on Pietra Santa, and on Viareggio towards Lucca, whence he entered into correspondence and arrangements with the Constitutionalists, about attempting a restoration." pp. 241, 242.

Had not the Grand Duke changed his mind, it is more than probable that Laugier would have restored the former government with little difficulty. But at Gaeta, Austrian influence was predominant, and the Piedmontese were viewed as little better than the noisy and factious mob whom they offered to reduce to order. The Grand Duke was told that Austria could not allow the intervention of Piedmont, and that he must look for restoration to the same Catholic powers who were soon to lead back Pius IX. in triumph to Rome. As the Duke was reluctant to adopt any measures that would lead to immediate bloodshed, he sent orders to Laugier, who could only act in concert with Piedmont, to make no further resistance, but allow things to take their course.

On the stage thus prepared for him at Florence, Mazzini made his appearance, and immediately announced his purpose, in furtherance of the great cause of United Italy, to

convert Tuscany into a province of the Roman Republic. This plan, however, did not suit the views of the Triumvirs, or of the liberty party generally, who were naturally reluctant to sink into provincial insignificance, after Tuscany had so long been an independent state. In fact, however captivating the schemes for a United Germany and a United Italy might appear to a set of political dreamers in their closets, they showed little knowledge of human nature when they attempted to carry them into effect during the struggle for reconstructing the governments of Europe on a more liberal basis, in 1848. They thought to flatter national pride by such projects, but really humbled it; as they proposed to merge little states in large ones, and to destroy many separate theatres for the gratification of ambition and the display of independent authority. A small state clings to its independence with even greater affection than a large one; and the history of Greece, as well as of our own country, proves that there are almost insuperable difficulties in the way of bringing under a united government several distinct communities, which have enjoyed even for a short time the darling privilege of governing themselves. Mazzini saw at once the necessity of cloaking his magnificent scheme under the grand and mystical name of *unification*, — which reminds one of the corresponding phrase, *the solidarity of the peoples*. But not even thus could he render it palatable to the Tuscan government, or the Tuscans themselves. He could not help seeing, also, that the Triumvirate were weak, and that a great majority of the people wished the Duke back again, and things restored to their former courses. “He admitted to Capponi that Italy did not seem inclined for a republic, but protested that by a republic only could she obtain success and unity, and that the precedent and the effort should be made, so that the seed might ripen with time.” Rome was the only theatre for him, as Rome alone offered a stage sufficiently magnificent, and historical associations grand and stirring enough, for a full display of patriotic enthusiasm and popular eloquence. To Rome, accordingly, he went, leaving the Tuscan Republic to run its own chances of an isolated existence. Its career was a short one.

“On the 25th of March, the Constituent met. On the evening of the 27th, it named Guerrazzi Dictator; and on the 4th of April, it decided against the union with Rome. Signal courage was shown in those first sittings by the physician Venturucci, who broke the thread of the debate to propose the restoration of the Sovereign under the Constitutional Statute. Now that Piedmont was beaten, and Europe uttering threats, Guerrazzi clearly saw that to be the only course remaining. The insurrection of Genoa, however, either revived his hopes of a general rising, or checked his wish for a restoration in Tuscany. He sent thither his agents with instigations and assistance; and he allowed Montanelli to exert himself there with effect in feeding and blowing up the flame. When, however, Genoa was reduced to tranquillity, and Montanelli was gone as Envoy to Paris, it would seem that the Dictator secretly promoted the plan of restoring the Constitutional Throne. But it was too late: the tumults ever reviving spread wider: the bands from Leghorn, while they composed them, kindled fresh hatred by their violence: that unruly and contentious tribe caused affliction to the gentler Tuscans, and resentment in the Florentine populace. During the Easter festival, they filled the taverns and the streets with scandals and came to blows. On the 11th of April, some new squabbles gave rise to a popular outburst: the people of Florence sounded their bells, and took to arms to pay off the Leghorners. Civic blood was shed, and Guerrazzi, mounting on horseback, tried to make peace; but he was met with slights and blows, and he got off with his life only by betaking himself to the fortress of San Giovanni, together with his friends from Leghorn, whom then he sent away safe by the railroad. Meantime, the Municipality had assumed the functions of Government, and, though threatened by some members of the Constituent Assembly, had proclaimed the restoration of the Constitutional Throne, and had invited some of the most distinguished citizens to share in the administration, Capponi among them, who was accompanied to the *Palazzo Vecchio* by the people, shouting ‘Capponi for ever! none but honest fellows for us!’ Guerrazzi, on returning to the *Palazzo Vecchio*, faltered, wheeled about, closed with the restoration, and seemed ready to take a seat in the Provisional Executive Committee; but the country people, who had flocked in, as well as the Florentine commonalty, menaced him with death, and he was kept prisoner.” pp. 372 – 374.

The news of this movement was brought to Gaeta by a deputation of citizens, who came to announce the wish of the people that the government should be reëstablished on the

basis of the constitution already granted. The Grand Duchess, who was far more inclined to absolutism than her husband, is said to have exclaimed, "See, we have lost the opportunity for a *good* restoration." It is certain that the counsellors who there surrounded the Grand Duke would have been better pleased if the Florentines had remained quiet, waiting till their sovereign should be brought back, without conditions, by Austrian bayonets. Some still advised him to insist on an unconditional restoration. But others were more prudent, and Leopold's own temper inclined to leniency and forbearance. He issued a proclamation, formally promising to uphold free institutions, and, in token of his good faith, sent a commissioner to Florence to govern provisionally in his name. Leghorn alone, obstinate to the last, refused to acknowledge the restoration, and shut her gates against the Duke's officers, though she thereby only inclosed anarchy within her walls. By thus affording a pretext, though a slight one, for Austrian intervention, she was the means of doing irremediable injury to the cause that she affected to cherish.

Mazzini was received at Rome with open arms, and with the honors really due to his many sufferings and unwearied exertions in the cause of Italian freedom. The rights of citizenship were immediately given to him, (he belonged to Genoa,) the Constituent Assembly admitted him, and a few other natives of other Italian states, to a place in their ranks, and on the first day of his appearance there, he was received with general plaudits, and the President requested him to sit by his side. He made a brief address, speaking with much humility of himself, and in his usual mystical and prophetic vein of the cause. The Rome of the Emperors and Rome of the Popes, he said, which had conquered the world by the sword and the cross, had passed away, and the Rome of the People, destined to a still more glorious career, had come. Though probably aware that the cause had already become desperate, he spoke with unbounded confidence of its triumph.

"We may have to fight a holy battle against the single enemy that threatens us—against Austria. We will fight her, we will conquer her. I trust that, please God, the stranger shall never again have to

say what to this day he often repeats, in reference to our affairs, that this blaze from Rome is an *ignis fatuus*, a gleam that flits from tomb to tomb. No; the world shall see it is a Star, everlasting, brilliant, pure, even as those which glow in our Italian sky."

No wonder that the hearts of the excitable Italians were carried away by this rich fusion of eloquence into poetry, till they were ready to accept Mazzini's dreams for truth! He is the only rival of the great Hungarian in a kind of popular oratory which they two may be said to have invented, and which, though it does not stir the clear intellects and cold temperaments of western and northern nations to any other feeling than that of admiring wonder, may well kindle the quick passions and glowing imaginations of the south and the east into a resistless flame. Henceforward, to adopt Farini's phrase, the revolution at Rome became incarnate in Mazzini. Before the end of the month, he was appointed, with two colleagues, to a triumvirate, which virtually received all power in the state. His two associates readily acknowledging his supremacy, he was in fact dictator and autocrat. He did not abuse his power; the republic under his guidance suffered many misfortunes, but incurred no disgrace.

Our author's sketch of Mazzini's character betrays dislike and some spite; but it is executed with considerable spirit, and comes so near the truth that we borrow a portion of it, defaced, as it is, in a wretched translation.

"That he has no well-defined system, religious, social, or political, is untrue; for steady, nay dogged, he is in this one proposition, that Italy must become a single State, with Rome for her capital, through the medium of a revolution, a war, and a democracy. In theology he is a Deist, a Pantheist, and a Rationalist, by turns; or a compound of all. He might seem a Christian, but none can tell whether Catholic or Protestant, or of what denomination. At one time he appeared in every thing to copy La Mennais, — another man without a system. He was not always a Republican, or did not show it, at any rate, when, in 1832, he invited King Charles Albert to act the Liberator. If Republican he were, it was a strange kind of Republic that he fancied, when, in 1847, he exhorted Pius IX. 'to have faith,' and thought him capable of every national, nay, humanitarian effort. At another time, he wrote against the theories of what is called Socialism: then, when the wheel

went round, he concocted a fresh essay, and allied with the Socialists of all nations. I consider Mazzini to be altogether a man of mediocrity, but he is a real genius in point of tenacity, along with unbounded pride under a modest and lowly aspect; he is of good morals, liberal, kind, most considerate to his friends, with a great gift of wheedling, and with a headstrong temperament amidst the universal debility of this generation. Amidst the vices of many of his followers, he is virtuous: his language is easy, imaginative, insinuating; he has fantastic notions, which the vulgar take for sublimity; he has pity for the vices, nay, too much also for the enormities, of his devotees, and he is always warm in the protection of an associate. His habits and ways are democratic; nay, he is an idolater of the people, whom, in heaven and earth, he puts on a level with God. Such, if I mistake not, are the sources of his power. . . . He talks much of an apostolate and a priesthood, and in fact he has the nature of a priest more than of a statesman: he, too, can see nothing in Italy but his own clique; he wants to tether the world to the round of his one, eternal, immutable idea. What should he care for the woes of mankind! All who suffer for, all who die in, Mazzini, are martyrs; they are not merely inscribed in the register of the free citizens of Italy, it is the martyrology of the Mazzinian Faith which claims them. What are years, what are generations, in the reckoning of the eternal idea? He knows he is to triumph; nay, he seems to know it straight from God: it is a saint, it is one inspired, who speaks; he curses and prays, he blesses and hurls anathemas; he is Pontiff, Prince, Apostle, Priest." pp. 304-306.

Mazzini's first object, at Rome, was to carry out his plan of *unification* with Tuscany. The Prince of Canino, the noisiest demagogue that the Bonaparte family ever produced, heartily seconded him in this undertaking, which was naturally popular at the place which was to be the head of the united republic. The Prince wished to carry out the scheme in a very summary manner, by immediately abolishing the barriers and custom-houses, and declaring that the union had already taken effect. But Mazzini thought it would be more civil, if not more prudent, first to obtain the consent of the other party; and for this purpose, he sent to Florence three commissioners, among whom were two former ministers of the republic, and to whom were afterwards added Ciceruacchio and one or two other leaders of the mob, in order to conciliate the Tuscan populace. But no result followed, for the

Tuscans, though not so proud and jealous as the Romans, had just as little willingness to be absorbed into a neighboring state. The more dignified commissioners were coldly received at the Palazzo Vecchio, Ciceruacchio was laughed at, "and Tuscany continued Tuscan, a gentle land, where the hurricane of revolution hardly raised the dust upon its face."

The project of convoking a Constituent Assembly for all Italy then came up for discussion; and it was first proposed that the Roman Assembly should immediately elect, as a deputation to it, sixty of its own members, in order that the other Italian states might be incited to speedy action. Others reasonably maintained that this would be the assumption of a power never granted to them, and that the primary assemblies must be again convoked, for the people to choose their own delegates. This opinion prevailed, though in opposition to the wishes of the ministry, as it amounted to a postponement of the measure; but the moderate party rightly declared, that, when war was soon to break out in upper Italy, it was not seasonable to enter into dispute about the various plans for confederation or union. The rapid progress of events left no time for renewing the project, and the electoral bodies were never convened for this purpose. Thus, though the people of every state in the peninsula had now held the government in their own hands for a longer or shorter period, the first step for the fulfilment of the grand scheme of a United Italy was never taken.

Other matters of immediate importance now claimed the attention of the Assembly. To relieve the finances, the ministers were authorized to coin and circulate a million of crowns of base metal, the real value of which should be only two fifths of its declared value; in other words, the money was to be three fifths counterfeit. This was equivalent to a declaration of public and private bankruptcy, as all debts could be discharged by payment of the depreciated coin, and little reliance could be placed on the pledge of the government at a future day to redeem it at par. Vigorous measures also had to be taken to put an end to the assassinations from political motives, which had become alarmingly frequent at Ancona, Imola, and other places. The frequency of such crimes has

always been the peculiar reproach of Italy; and the late revolutionary period was as deeply stained by them as any other epoch in its history. The mania for them seems to be contagious, and when one frightful example is set, it is almost sure to be followed, in quick succession, by many others. At Rome, indeed, the assassination of Rossi was known to have had so fatal an effect upon the cause, through the burst of horror and indignation with which the account of it was received in other lands, that the authorities exerted themselves successfully to prevent a repetition of the crime. But it was fearfully common in the smaller cities, showing the intensity of passion which the political changes had awakened, and the impotency of the new government for the preservation of order. A law was passed to authorize the summary trial and punishment of the guilty; and the ministry made the most earnest appeals to the local magistrates, to use vigorous measures to check the evil. The Minister for the Interior published an energetic proclamation upon the subject, and wrote thus to Count Laderchi, then governor of the province of Ravenna:—"Come to an understanding with the presidents of the nearest provinces; support one another, and, for God's sake, take care that the social existence of those most unhappy districts may, in some manner or other, be protected. The government has done every thing it could, in the way of exceptional powers, plenary discretion, and the rest, to conquer the evil as far as possible." Laderchi did act with energy, and by getting together a number of armed citizens and a few carabinieri, succeeded in arresting the whole of a gang of assassins, who had kept Imola in terror for weeks. The following is Farini's account of the state of things at Ancona.

"In broad day, they murdered alike in the open places, in the courts of mansions, and in houses of resort, under the eyes of the soldiery, who let them alone; aye, there were officers of police, who, playing simultaneously the ruffian, the judge, and the executioner, put the townsmen, whom it was their duty by office to defend against injury, to death. Happy he who could purchase life with gold, or save it by flight, such was the sway of panic over the public mind, such the collapse of all authority, such the insolence of this tyranny.

Often in these pages does the sad recollection recur, and the mind indignantly recoils from the relation of details. Freedom abandons the spots defiled by assassination ; civilization disowns, and God at this day punishes with rigid servitude, those atrocious practices. The crimes committed at Ancona with impunity grew to such an height, that the foreign Consuls made complaints to the government, and spread abroad the horrible relation. Some Deputies from Ancona, Baldi, Pollini, and Berretta, demanded decisive measures of repression ; and Baldi offered to go thither as Commissioner for their enforcement. But these members had voted against proclaiming the Republic, and were reputed to be Moderates ; accordingly they were not in such credit as to make Mazzini willing to confide in them. He sent as Commissioners, in their stead, Dallongaro and one Bernabei, of Sinigallia. These men, miserable trucklers to the lawless butchers and to the sovereign rabble, aggravated the odious reputation of the government. Later, however, he sent Felice Orsini, of Imola, who, to his own great honor, and the no less comfort of the city, took resolute and severe steps for the public security ; for, having declared the state of siege, and cheered up the respectable citizens, he arrested the ruffians when off their guard, and consigned them to the tribunals." pp. 388, 389.

Once more, general enthusiasm was so far awakened at Rome that minor political differences were forgotten, by the arrival, in the middle of March, of an envoy from Piedmont, announcing that that kingdom had again rushed into war with Austria, and asking aid for the final struggle for Italian independence. There was but a short debate in the Assembly. Mazzini declared that they would think no more about forms of government, for there were now but two classes of Italians, — those who favored, and those who opposed, the war of independence and the emancipation of Italy from the Austrians. " Republican Rome would fight at the same moment, and in the same ranks, with monarchical Piedmont." The ladies who were present in the gallery pulled off their jewels and threw them upon the floor, as an offering to their country. Public spirit was kindled anew by the spectacle of a chivalrous sovereign rushing once more into a desperate contest, in the vain hope of emancipating his native land and retrieving his lost honor. There was a general cry for money and arms. Twelve battalions of the

National Guard were equipped for permanent duty, the students were formed into a legion, and the Carabineers were put in readiness for the field. Public prayers were offered in the churches, to obtain a blessing on the Italian war.

One short week, the fever of enthusiasm and preparation continued ; and then came the terrible news of the overwhelming defeat at Novara, the abdication of the broken-hearted Charles Albert, and the complete triumph of the Austrians. The effect of this intelligence upon the populace was a little mitigated, at first, by the accounts almost simultaneously received from Genoa, that the people of that city had risen in arms, had expelled the Piedmontese authorities, and established a republican government. Mazzini, himself a Genoese, was thrown into an ecstasy, and announced the joyous tidings in a proclamation which ended thus :—“ The last prestige is gone, the monarchical principle is doomed ; the triumph is for God and the people, who never break faith.” It is difficult to believe that a sane man could have dictated this glowing language upon so slight encouragement. At the court of Gaeta, on the other hand, the news of the Genoese insurrection rather heightened the rejoicings for the victory at Novara, since it was perceived that so senseless a revolt would do as much harm to the republican cause, as the shock of arms had done to Italian independence. The Genoese made hardly a show of resistance to a division of the Piedmontese army, which quickly obtained possession of the forts and the city ; and the young king contemptuously pardoned all who had been concerned in the movement, except a few ringleaders. Avezzana, apparently the only brave man among the insurgents, made his escape, and afterwards played a noble part in the gallant defence of Rome.

On the 14th of April, Mazzini had the hard task of announcing to the Assembly the defeat of the Piedmontese, the fall of Genoa, and the restoration of the Grand Duke's power in Tuscany, by the voluntary act of the people. Venice alone, protected by the waters of the Adriatic, still displayed the republican flag, as if to cheer the Romans with the thought that they were not wholly isolated in defending the cause of free institutions in Italy. But after Piedmont had

fallen, it was evident that Venice could not long hold out against her assailants. Then, if ever, was the time for Rome to make terms with the Pope, and invite him to return in peace to the city, on condition of preserving and upholding the free constitution which he had granted the year before. But the Triumvir had no thought of surrender or compromise, and instead of advising prudence, he openly denounced it. The Assembly tumultuously adopted Sterbini's proposition — "Let us make a solemn oath rather to be buried beneath the ruins of the country, than to recede from the republican principle which we have proclaimed." A decree was passed at the same session, as if for the purpose of invoking the utmost hostility of the Church, that the rural estates of the religious corporations, already secularized, should now be divided into allotments for those families who had no other means of livelihood, and who should hold them on perpetual lease, burdened only by a moderable and redeemable quit-rent. The first draft of the new constitution was also read by the committee having this subject in charge; but as the instrument never went into effect, we need not analyze its contents. It differed from other European schemes of a republican constitution, chiefly by the affectation of preserving the names and offices that had been rendered classical by the ancient Roman Republic.

These proceedings indicated that the government, though under sentence of death, was determined to meet its fate bravely, and die with decency. According as they are viewed by friends or opponents, they will be stigmatized as political fanaticism, or honored as fidelity to principle. No measures were taken to obtain foreign aid, though a sort of remonstrance or manifesto was addressed to the governments of France and England, announcing that the Republic had decreed the Pope's independence and the free exercise of his spiritual power, but would oppose to the utmost the restoration of his temporal authority, declaring itself not responsible for the sanguinary consequences that might ensue. But as the envoys of the Republic were not recognized by these governments, no answer was returned to this manifesto, and probably none was expected.

The Triumvirs probably entertained a hope that the frequent revolutions in France might at last bring a party into power which would declare in favor of the sister republic at Rome, or at least protect it against the intervention of Spain and Austria. Naples alone, though with the spiritual influence of the Pope on its side, the Romans did not fear to encounter ; even Ciceruacchio could afford to despise Ferdinand. But if such hopes were cherished, due allowance was not made for the difficulties and perils which would necessarily surround any party or individual who might be brought uppermost by the wave of revolution at Paris,—perils which would be enhanced a thousand-fold by the outbreak of a war with Austria, and by unpardonable offence given to the feelings and wishes of all sincere Catholics. France, indeed, desired to prevent Austria from obtaining entire control of the Italian peninsula, and for this purpose, if the restoration of the Pope was inevitable, she was determined it should take place through her own intervention rather than by German arms. There is no doubt, that, at least during the dictatorship of Cavaignac, and the early part of the presidency of Louis Napoleon, she was sincerely desirous of mediating between the Pope and his subjects,—of procuring his return, but, at the same time, of upholding the free institutions which he had formerly granted. Louis Napoleon's selfish aims, and the virtual alliance which he contracted with the ultra Catholics—an alliance that has been one chief cause of his subsequent success—afterwards induced him to change this policy, and really to bring about the restoration of Pius without any limitations of his temporal authority or any guaranties for freedom. But that the French were sincere at first in their avowed intention to adopt a middle course, is fully proved by the history of the negotiations that is given by Farini. They wished the case of Rome to be made parallel to that of Tuscany,—that is, that the Constitutional party should be restored to power, and should then recall the Pope of their own accord, under a pledge that he would uphold, and even continue, the work of political reform which he had begun.

“The Duc D’Harcourt was aware of the condition of the Roman States; and, through the examination M. Mercier had recently made, had acquired a certainty, that nothing but civil equality and political freedom would keep the inhabitants quiet. He therefore proposed liberal arrangements, and would not consent to handing over that people into the power of the clergy by Austrian arms without the coöperation of France, and without guaranties for civilized Government. But Cardinal Antonelli, who at first was wont to avow humanized and liberal views, and to dissemble from D’Harcourt the mistrust he cherished towards France, having his spirits raised by the Austrian successes, altered his tone, and pressed for an immediate intervention and restoration, fettered neither by promise from the court, nor by securities for the people. Hereupon followed keen debate, and radical dissension; so that D’Harcourt declared he could not go on with the negotiations until he had fresh instructions from his Government, to whom he wrote accordingly, while he again sent Mercier to Rome, that he might use means to make it felt there how all liberty would stand in the utmost jeopardy, unless the inhabitants brought about a restoration of themselves, requiring guaranties for their freedom, and invoking the countenance of France to back the demand. Mercier accordingly, having got back to Rome, communicated with the Constitutionalists; but the ruin of the Piedmontese army had deprived them of all moral weight, and Mazzini’s Dictatorship had stripped them of all means of influence upon the Assembly or the Government. Besides, while M. Mercier intimated wishes and tendered counsel, he made no promise on the part of France; he required that the Constitutionalists should combine with her in overthrowing the Republic, and in restoring the temporal dominion of the Pope, but he had no power to guarantee fresh institutions; he guaranteed nothing but hopes.” pp. 351, 352.

Whether the Pope would have consented to return under limitations and pledges, even if the Constitutionalists had regained power and invited him back, is another question. Probably he would not; for he was now completely subject to Austrian and Neapolitan influence. But Mazzini’s influence was too great, and the tide of republican feeling at Rome was too strong, to allow the offer to be made. The French minister knew better than to open negotiations directly with the Roman Triumvirate. Mazzini and his colleagues were proscribed men; the Pope’s return could not have taken place

under any conditions which would not have sent them again into exile. Most of the members of the Constituent Assembly and the higher officers of government probably thought that they were in the same predicament. The Constitutionals were few in number, dispersed, divided in counsel, and overawed by the government and the fear of assassination. They were no match for desperate men, who knew that they were contending with their all at stake. A rumor had gone forth, after the recent unhappy turn of Italian affairs, that the Triumvirs thought of an accommodation; whereupon they immediately announced "that the Triumvirate would view any concession, any deviation from its principle, whatever its degree, origin, or shape, *as treason*; that for the Triumvirate, just as for the Assembly, Rome and the Republic were identical;" and that "the very thought of compromise would be crime, and dastard crime." This was natural language from men so situated as Mazzini and Garibaldi.

Easter was now at hand, and the Roman populace were not to be balked of the usual spectacles of Holy Week. It had been the custom, on the evening of Good Friday, to illuminate the interior of St. Peter's by a huge cross suspended from the dome; but this custom had been intermitted since 1824, because, among the immense multitude drawn together at night by such a spectacle, and in the many shadowy corners of the vast church, some scenes took place which would have desecrated any edifice. But the Triumvirate made a point of restoring the observance; "and the light which irradiated the tombs of the Apostles," says Farini, "attracted the inquisitive to the spectacle and the licentious to their orgies." Tricolor fireworks were also exhibited, to mingle political with religious symbols. The Canons of St. Peter's had been ordered to make ready the usual magnificent ceremonial for Easter day, but they refused; and with some difficulty, a priest who had been an army chaplain was found, who was willing to perform all the rites that usually required the presence of the Pope and the whole Sacred College. After mass was over, this priest went in the procession to the grand balcony over the entrance, and there, as the Pope was wont to do, he blessed the vast multitude kneeling in the

Piazza, amid the pealing of cannons and bells. After he had withdrawn, Mazzini appeared in the balcony, and was received with loud shouts for the Republic. If the Triumvirs hoped to increase their popularity by keeping up these observances, they were mistaken; for, to judge from the tone in which Farini speaks of them, they gave great offence to all sincere Catholics, in whose eyes they appeared only as a parody on the usual ceremonial. The Canons of St. Peter's were fined one hundred and twenty crowns each for their contumacy.

The victory of the Austrians, with the events consequent upon it, having now settled the affairs of all the states of the peninsula, except Rome, the negotiations at Gaeta were hurried to a close. France found that the Pope could be restored only by an armed intervention, and that, if her forces did not invade the papal dominions, those of Spain, Austria, and Naples would, or at any rate, could be prevented from doing so only by a war which would shake all Europe. General Lamoricière explained the case very succinctly to the French Assembly. The Republic of Rome, he said, having declared war against Austria, that power is now entitled to avail herself of belligerent rights. Naples, Spain, and Russia tell her, "move upon Rome, set the Pope upon his throne."

"You are aware that, should Austria, without any concurrence of ours, bring back the Pope to Rome, a complete counter-revolution would ensue; and, in that case, not only would all be over with the Roman Republic, but all would be over with the liberal institutions, the freedom of Italy, and the French influence. I therefore am of opinion, with the majority of the Committee, that you ought to grant to the Ministry the sum it asks for, and to authorize the occupation of Civitá Vecchia. If, after our soldiers have landed, Austria should move on Rome to destroy the Republic, and to reëstablish there, together with the Pope, her own influence, we conceive that the Government should be empowered to advance our troops to Rome, to save what can be saved from the wreck; that is to say, if not the Roman Republic, yet the liberties of Italy, along with the influence of France." p. 411.

On the 25th of April, General Oudinot, with a large body of troops, landed without opposition at Civitá Vecchia, and soon afterwards commenced his march upon Rome.

Here Farini's narrative for the present ends. A fourth volume will bring down the story to the end of the siege, and the entry of the French into the city. But as the occurrences of this period, from the notoriety which they obtained at the time, are probably fresh in the recollection of all, we shall not follow his steps any farther. This third volume is hardly so well executed as its predecessors, and it betrays more frequently the influence of personal feeling and political prejudice. But as a whole, the work contains the most complete, impartial, and trustworthy account of the progress of events in the papal dominions during the late revolutionary period, which has as yet appeared in the English language.

ART. VIII.—1. *The House of The Seven Gables; a Romance.* By NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE. Boston: Ticknor, Reed & Fields. 1851. 16mo. pp. 344.

2. *The Blithedale Romance.* By NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE. Boston: Ticknor, Reed & Fields. 1852. 16mo. pp. 288.

It is difficult to refer Hawthorne to any recognized class of writers. So far as our cognizance extends, he is the only individual of his class. In the popular sense of the word, he writes no poetry. We infer his incapacity of rhyme and metre, from his having adopted prose for his Carriers' Addresses, and other similar productions, which are usually cast in metrical forms. Nor yet is his language distinguished by euphony. It never flows spontaneously in numbers, as do so many of the descriptive and pathetic passages in Dickens's stories. On the other hand, it is often crisp and harsh, betraying little sensitiveness to musical accords and cadences; and we should despair of finding a paragraph of his, in which the sound could, by the most skilful reading, be made to enhance the impression of the sense. Yet more, we cannot remember a single poetical quotation in all his writings; and, though books are occasionally referred to, mention is never, or almost never, made of a poet or a poem. His own favorite reading does not, we therefore conclude, lie in this direction,